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THE MANY VOICES OF BILINGUAL STUDENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS

by

Maria Estela Brisk, Ph.D

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Boston University, 1991

DEVELOPED BY

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This volume is dedicated to all the bilingual children in Massachusetts who, as illustrated in this monograph, are an example of determination and courage.

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ABSTRACT

This study presents the stories of twelve bilingual children in Massachusetts public schools. Ranging in age from six to fourteen, they were born in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Taiwan, the Soviet Union, Japan, Vietnam, Kuwait, and Boston. The case studies were compiled through classroom observations and interviews with the children, their teachers, and their parents, conducted in the native language and in English. The purpose of the study is to better understand those children in our schools who are blessed with more than one language.

The case studies presented here illuminate two major themes. One is the value the children's families place on bilingualism. The second is the importance of using the native language in school to reduce the stress of cross-cultural adjustment and to enhance the school's ability to understand individual students. Another theme that emerges is the strong desire of all the students to do well in school, regardless of socio-economic background or parents' education. Their eagerness to make American friends, a goal not easily achieved, is yet another common theme.

The cases are portraits of individual children, not programs. Yet the case studies also reveal the many ways in which school systems adapt to the challenge of educating students whose first language is not English. Mai, Mario, Carlos, Nilda, Miguel, and Pedro were enrolled in programs which included substantial native language instruction as well as the teaching of English and teaching in English. Phong, Sergei, Masa, Shimpei, Lili, and Omar were mainstreamed, with support provided by pull-out programs offering Transitional Bilingual Education and ESL or ESL only. For the most part, the first six children moved smoothly into schooling. The struggles of the last six to overcome strong fears and frustrations were far more evident. Individual personality traits also played a role in the ways in which the children confronted schooling.

This study offers a picture of bilingual education as seen through the eyes of twelve children. The reality is rather complex. The cases offer substantial evidence that districts are concerned with the education of these children. However, an analysis of the experiences of these twelve students also suggests specific ways to improve existing programs. In the concluding section, the recommendations for schools include:

- *Reinforcing the value of bilingualism*
- *Careful planning for mainstreaming students*
- *Innovative approaches to assessment practices, such as student portfolios, in recognition of the complexity of second language literacy*
- *Implementation of practices to encourage friendships between native English speaking students and those from other language backgrounds*
- *Moving toward the development of a school culture in which English-speaking and bilingual students see themselves as part of a bilingual, multi-cultural schooling experience.*

FOREWORD

This study is the result of a collaboration agreement between myself and Gilman Hébert, Director of the Bureau of Equity and Language Services, begun in 1990. Last year, I invited students enrolled in my course "Issues in Bilingualism" to look with me at outstanding bilingual teachers and their role in the education of children who speak languages other than English. This work was published by the Bureau as *The Many Voices of Education For Bilingual Students in Massachusetts*. This year, we decided to look at the children themselves. With the collaboration of Directors of Bilingual Education, my students were put in contact with teachers, who in turn selected individual children. The students observed and interviewed the children. They also interviewed their teachers, parents and program directors. Most of the students were either native speakers or fluent in the language of the children being observed; if not, they worked in teams which included someone who was. A selection of the case studies is included in this monograph. They represent a variety of languages, programs, ages and extent of time in school in Massachusetts.

The production of this study required the work of many people: the children themselves, teachers, parents and administrators who generously gave of their time to my students; all the students in the course in "Issues in Bilingualism," in particular, Judy Casulli, Ann Rines, Jody Day, Wanda Muriel, Esther De Jong, Alejandra Ajuria, Jie Gao, Gennadi Gorbatov, Debra Beckwith, Eiko Torii, Joy Turpie, Mary Matthews and Rachel McCormack, whose case studies were finally included; Judy Casulli, Jody Day, Wanda Muriel, Esther De Jong and Gennadi Gorbatov collaborated with me in the production of the final manuscript; Jie Gao, Julie Wrobel and Eileen Lakey helped with typing the manuscript; and Dr. Virginia Vogel Zanger helped in the editing and final production of the manuscript.

To protect the privacy of the children, all names used for children, parents and teachers are not the real ones. For the same reason, we decided not to name schools or school districts.

–Maria Estela Brisk, June 1991

INTRODUCTION

Students from over 75 different linguistic and cultural backgrounds enter public schools in Massachusetts every year. Some school systems adapt in many ways to the challenge of educating these students. This study presents the stories of twelve bilingual children ages 6 to 14 from from a variety of countries in the world: Vietnam, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Taiwan, the Soviet Union, Japan, Vietnam and Kuwait. Eleven of them are enrolled in or have attended Bilingual Education programs. One of the students has only English as a Second Language (ESL) support.

The purpose of this study is to understand bilingual students. By presenting a variety of individuals of different ages, language and cultural backgrounds, we hope to make educators aware that they are students like any others, with personalities and needs that any children would have. In addition, they face a stressful situation brought about by being torn away from their country and all that is familiar to them, and also by being separated from their families in some cases. Some fare better than others. Personality, level of education, cultural values, and knowledge of English prior to arrival, are among the many factors affecting their school performance. In addition, each type of program provides different experiences. Some programs make the transition to the American school much smoother than others.

This monograph contains two sections. In the first section the students' stories are presented. These are organized according to the type of program attended: self-contained Transtional Bilingual Education (TBE), Integrated Bilingual Education, Two-Way Bilingual Education and TBE Support for mainstreamed students. All of these programs include ESL instruction. The last child study deals with a boy who went to a district that could only offer ESL support because of the variety of languages and low number of students from any one language group in the school district. The second section discusses the important issues and educational implications that emerge from these stories. Some specific recommendations are outlined, based on the features that seemed to work in the different types of programs.

The purpose of this study is to understand bilingual students.

CASE STUDIES

Program Type	Student	Language Background	Grade (Age) Current	Grade (Age) Upon Arrival
Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)	Mai/Mary	Vietnamese	5 (10)	3 (8)
	Mario	Spanish	2 (7)	K (5)
Integrated TBE	Carlos	Spanish	5 (11)	5 (10)
	Nilda	Spanish	5 (11)	3 (9)
Two-Way Bilingual	Pedro	English/Spanish	4 (9)	N/A
	Miguel	English/Spanish	6 (11)	N/A
TBE Support for Mainstreamed Students	Sergei	Russian	1 (6)	1 (6)
	Masa	Japanese	2 (7)	1 (6)
	Shimpei	Japanese	8 (14)	5 (10)
	Phong	Vietnamese	6 (12)	5 (11)
	Lili	Mandarin	3 (9)	2 (8)
ESL Only	Omar	Arabic	1 (6)	1 (6)

SECTION I
Educational Experiences of Bilingual Students in Massachusetts

Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)

A self-contained TBE program is one that provides all the instruction, including English as a Second Language, to students in the program. When students move to a district offering TBE, their language ability is evaluated and a decision is made as to whether the student is eligible for TBE. Even when eligible for TBE, parents have the option to put the students in the mainstream English program. Usually the TBE program is staffed with bilingual teachers and aides and ESL teachers. The students receive content area instruction in the native language while they are introduced to English. More and more English is added to their curriculum as the students acquire the language. Students in the TBE program participate in the mainstream for classes with specialists, such as art, music and gym, and for other general school activities. Once the students are proficient in English they are mainstreamed. This mainstreaming can be gradual or sudden. The decision to mainstream is based on testing and specific guidelines established by each school district.

Both Mai (or Mary) and Mario, the children in the case studies that follow, attended TBE programs. Mai, however, moved after the second year to another state that only offered some ESL support for bilingual students.

Mai (Mary)

In July 1988, eight year old Mai Nguyen and her mother arrived in Massachusetts from Vietnam to be reunited with her father, a businessman, who had immigrated to the United States in 1981 and had already become an American citizen. All other members of the Nguyen's extended family remain in Vietnam.

Following Mr. Nguyen's escape from Vietnam, Mrs. Nguyen and their daughter Mai lived in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) from 1981 to their departure in 1988. Mrs. Nguyen worked occasionally, and when Mai turned six, she began public school. She attended three years of grade school in Vietnam. No formal school records accompanied her to the United States. Mai recalls the subjects as being about the same as in American schools: reading, writing, math. She remembers spelling correctly as being important. She was a very good student and a class leader, which meant that she assisted the teacher in classroom responsibilities.

Upon arrival in Massachusetts, she was enrolled in the Transitional Bilingual Program for Vietnamese students in grade 3. Mrs. Huong, the bilingual teacher, characterized Mai's Vietnamese language skills as the best she has encountered in ten years of teaching in the TBE program. For the first few months of the school year, Mai received all her academic instruction in Vietnamese; she also received some ESL in

basic communication skills, and began working on written English, using a process approach. For the remainder of 1988-1989, Mai continued to receive most of her academic subjects in Vietnamese but made unusually rapid progress with oral English. Mrs. Hunt, the ESL teacher, noted that Mai's pronunciation was also extremely clear. Teachers have stated that she soon was regarded as the "class brain."

The Nguyen family speak Vietnamese exclusively at home although English language proficiency is a valued family goal. Shortly after Mai was enrolled in school, Mr. Nguyen scheduled a conference with the bilingual and ESL teachers to inquire why Mai was not receiving more instruction in English. Additionally, he wanted the school and his daughter to use Mary instead of her Vietnamese name, Mai. The teachers stated that she initially resisted this change.

creative writing pieces, often working with a student partner. Mrs. Hunt characterized her writing as an area in which her progress was less rapid. Mrs. Hunt stated that she seemed "to hold back... to do a minimum." In June, 1990, Mai scored in the Fluent English Proficient range of the IDEA Oral Language Proficiency Test I (form B) and in the limited English proficiency level 2 range on the TBE Program's Writing Skills Rating Scale (Grades 4-8).

Mai continued to speak Vietnamese to her classmates and to Mrs. Huong. She spoke English to Mrs. Hunt and other speakers of English only. On the playground, she played with other Vietnamese children, as do most students in the TBE program.

Both teachers characterized Mai as being exceptional. Her urban, educational background distinguished her from others

Mrs. Huong, the bilingual teacher, characterized Mai's Vietnamese language skills as the best she has encountered in ten years of teaching

During her second year in the program (1989-1990), Mai began to receive her language arts instruction in English. During the school year, Mai progressed in English reading from level 6 (grade 1) through level 9 (grade 3) achieving between 91% and 99% on the end of book testing. Mai's phonetic skills often enabled her to decode text beyond her comprehension. Mai continued with the process approach in writing. Working on a computer, Mai generated

in the class from rural villages, who often had not attended school prior to their arrival in the United States. Also, Mai had spent no time in a refugee camp. Her literacy level in her mother tongue and the literacy level of her home set her apart from others in the class, many of whom come from home environments where written language is absent. Mai also received parental assistance (from her father) on homework assignments.

The teachers noted that some of Mai's personality traits also differentiated her from other Vietnamese girls. Mrs. Huong felt that these differences were in part related to her urban, educated background and her individual family culture. Mrs. Huong and Mrs. Hunt speculated that the extended period (seven years) in which Mai was separated from her father may have contributed to her independence and outspokeness. Both teachers characterized her as "aggressive" and "competitive" compared to the other Vietnamese girls. Mrs. Hunt stated that Mai "wanted to shine, wanted to be liked, wanted to be in the spotlight." During the spring of Mai's second year in the program, the class put on a play in English for the school. Mai played the lead role and enjoyed the experience very much.

After two years in Massachusetts the family moved to an area in New Hampshire where there were no speakers of Vietnamese or bilingual programs. Mr. Nguyen feels that Mai is losing a lot of her skills in the Vietnamese language. Mai and her mother felt more comfortable in Massachusetts where there were Asian grocery stores, Vietnamese restaurants, and friends with common background and language. In a letter to her bilingual and ESL teachers soon after she entered her New Hampshire school, Mai wrote: "I am the only one here that looks like me... I am the only one with black hair and black eyes."

Had Mai remained in the Massachusetts school system for the next school year, Mrs. Hunt planned to mainstream her into a grade 4 regular education classroom on a part-time basis in the mornings with continued attendance in the bilingual classroom in the afternoons. Depending upon her performance, Mrs. Hunt would have increased her attendance in the regular education program and may even have considered moving her to a grade 5 program, which would have been more appropriate to her chronological age and educational background.

Currently, Mai is a student in a grade five regular education classroom in New Hampshire. All of her instruction is in English. She is the only Vietnamese student in her school. The only other students in the school who speak or hear another language at home are three Greek-American students. These students do not receive any ESL support.

Two to three times each week, Ms. Murphy,the ESL coordinator, works with Mai in her classroom. They review weekly/daily assignments and discuss concepts in all academic areas that Mai or Mrs. Burns, the classroom teacher, feel need reinforcement or reteaching.

When tested with the Language Assessment Scale, Mai scored as limited English proficient in reading and writing skills, as well as in listening and speaking skills. Grades on Mai's report card over two marking periods range from satisfactory to outstanding. Academic areas generally received grades of satisfactory. Mai's effort in those subjects is noted as good or outstanding. Social development areas received grades of satisfactory or good. Ms. Murphy characterized Mai's English acquisition skills as having reached a plateau: a command of basic forms has been reached, but comprehension beyond the literal level remains erratic depending upon vocabulary knowledge, awareness of figurative language, and appropriate background knowledge and concepts.

When asked where Mai fit in academically in her classroom, Mrs. Burns reported

that she "seems to be about average", "she's doing OK." On tests, Mrs. Burns has a sense that Mai

> ... knows more than she shows. I'm not always sure if it's the way I asked the question...sometimes, she understands it when I rephrase it... or if she can't always find the words to tell me the information...it's hard for her to put it into words." (Personal communication, February,1991).

Mrs. Burns characterized her reading as on grade level except for some specific weaknesses in comprehension. Idioms and meaningful phrases especially give Mai trouble.

the classroom.

According to one of her teachers, Mai has changed a lot since September:

> It's been interesting to see her personality come out. She's not afraid to speak out now... even to the boys...she's not shy. (Mrs. Murphy, personal communication, March, 1991).

She often tells Mrs. Murphy that she wants to get "100%" and confided that she promised her father that she would go to Harvard.

Lately, Mai has become reluctant to

Lately, Mai has become reluctant to talk about her background at school.

Mai reported that at first it was "so hard" to speak English, but that now (three years later) it is "easy to speak English all day long...." Mai stated that the hardest part about school was "taking tests."

Ms. Murphy stated that earlier in the school year Mai often said she was "stupid" or "ugly". Now, she hears statements like these less frequently. Mai has started being invited and being allowed to participate in social functions with other girls outside

talk about her background at school. For a recent writing assignment, she was encouraged to write about her experiences and about Vietnam, but she declined. When asked if she feels American or Vietnamese, she said, "don't know... I don't think about it." In New Hampshire, she speaks Vietnamese only at home, with her parents and her little sister. On weekends and for some special occasions, they travel back to Massachusetts to visit friends or to shop.

Mario

Mario, a 7 year-old boy, came with his mother to the United States from their native Guatemala in 1988. They joined Mario's father in Massachusetts, where he had arrived some months earlier to secure a job and a place to live.

In Guatemala, his father had a low-paying job in a shoe factory which provided little income for a family just starting out. They had no home of their own; they rented a small room most of the time but also spent short periods of time with relatives. Mario's mother recalls that many people looked down on them and treated them badly because of their situation. When Mario was a toddler, the other children used to hit him and tease him. Even so, she says he was always a very sociable, outgoing, open child.

According to Mario's mother, she and her husband decided to leave Guatemala "to have a better life, to be able to provide our children with better education." She had completed schooling through about the seventh grade and her husband had completed little more. Mario's mother feels that things have gone quite well for them in Massachusetts. Her husband has had a steady job in a nail factory since his arrival. They are able to support their two children rather well (although Mario was an only child when they came to the U.S., he now has an 18 month-old sister). She anounces proudly that they support themselves without the aid of welfare. While there are no plans in the immediate future to return to Guatemala, they think of perhaps doing so one day when their children are much older and they are able to purchase a home there.

Mario began kindergarten less than two months after the family arrived in the U.S. . His mother recalls Mario as having adjusted to his school environment very quickly. Having never been to a school before, he was very excited and loved it right from the start. He came home most days full of excitement and stories about his new school. Mario attended a bilingual kindergarten class. He knew no English at all before entering school. He and his classmates were pulled out for ESL instruction, half of the class at a time, on a daily basis. Mario's kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Velez, remembers Mario very vividly. Both she and her aide recall his immaturity as compared to other children in the class. He often cried for the most seemingly minor reason, and he did not know how to share with other children. The teacher attributed this largely to his mother's overprotective relationship with him. For example, she recalls that well into the school year, his mother would still bring him in and unbutton his jacket for him and tell the teacher his lunch choice. Despite his immaturity, Mario always interacted a great deal with the other children. "He was always aware of everything that was going on around him." Mrs. Velez remembers that Mario arrived with no skills (such as how to hold a pencil) and he did not know his last name or his first name.

Mario's bilingual program was similar in the first grade. He received pull-out ESL instruction with other children in the class every day. The first grade teacher also recalls him as being immature, "emotionally behind". On the other hand, he exhibited a good knowledge of Spanish vocabulary, though he was behind many others in learning to read and write. Mathematics was difficult for him because he had a hard time concentrating. By the end of the year Mario had made considerable progress in English speaking ability. He could separate the two languages very effectively, even though many of his peers mixed Spanish and English a great deal.

Mario is currently in a bilingual second grade classroom. He is one of six (out of

25) students who receive all of their language arts instruction — from 8:30 a.m.. until 11:00 a.m. — in English with a Chapter I (ESL) teacher. The six students join approximately six others from two other non-bilingual classroooms and go to a small room for this instruction. His teacher, Mrs. Molina, selected students for this option based on the fact that they were already reading fairly well in Spanish, and they were already speaking fairly good English.

Once Mario and the others return from instruction with the Chapter I teacher, they spend the rest of the day in Mrs. Molina's class. This time includes lunch; math; spelling or an additional Spanish language arts activity; and either social studies or science instruction. These subjects are carried out primarily in Spanish, although English is sometimes used, depending on themes and materials available.

Mario uses primarily Spanish with his Spanish-speaking peers — even as "asides" during English instruction class — and English with his English-only speaking peers and teachers. In both English and Spanish instruction, Mario is among the most enthusiastic and participative of students. In his English class, Mario was observed to be daring in his use of English, in fact more so than children who were more proficient than he in the language. He seemed confident, was often the first to respond to a question and would use whatever vocabulary he had to construct a response, a sentence or a question. For example, the following exchange was recorded as the teacher introduced the book, *Doctor DeSoto*:

Teacher: Today we're going to start a new book.

Mario: I know, about a dentist!

Teacher: How did you know?

Mario: Because I saw it over there.

Teacher: Okay, what does a dentist do?

Mario: He gets out teeth. (March 19, 1991)

In his English class, Mario often participates in discussions or answer questions by "cueing in" to a familiar sounding part of a word, and providing an answer based

Mario uses primarily Spanish with his Spanish-speaking peers — even as "asides" during English instruction class — and English with his English-only speaking peers and teachers.

on that sound. For example, on one occasion, when the teacher mentioned Hawaii, Mario yelled out, "Hawaiian punch!" He did this frequently in his English class. Each time he did it, he laughed, almost as if it were a game, but also as if he had the slightest hope he just might be right.

According to Mario's mother, he enjoys using English at home playfully, but he uses both Spanish and English. She said she does not sense any rejection of Spanish on his part. At times he enjoys teaching English to his parents, both of whom speak far less English than does Mario. His mother said, "Sometimes he speaks English so fast — and then he can't explain it to us. He says, "*Ay, no sé como explicarme* (Ay, I don't know how to explain myself). Sometimes I feel badly about that." She gave another example of when she asks him if he has any homework. "Sometimes he says, '*No tengo tarea, solo* homework' ('I don't have homework [in Spanish], only homework' [in English]). When Mario was asked what language he speaks most at home, he responded "Spanish." When asked why, he said, "Allí siempre me hablan español." ("They always speak to me in Spanish at home").

Mathematics is Mario's strongest area of academic performance in second grade. He is very quick and more able than many children in class to concentrate and solve more abstract problems; however, the teacher thinks he could perform even better if he were less immature. Mario's highest grades (B's) are in math.

His comprehension appears to be quite good when he reads in Spanish. However, his writing in Spanish is quite poor, particularly in relation to his reading ability; he leaves words and sentences unfinished, leaves out verbs, and writes things that don't make sense in Spanish. Because Mario receives his language arts instruction in English, he doesn't have the opportunity to write in Spanish every day. When he does, it is usually for a social studies activity.

As far as his reading abilities in English, Mario is able to decode fairly well. He is anxious to read aloud (alone or to the class) and often volunteers to do so. However, his comprehension when reading in English is not up to par with his comprehension in reading Spanish. For example, Mario's English teacher had the children reread a story which had been read the day before. Mario read it aloud softly to himself. The teacher then gave the students a worksheet which called for filling vocabulary words into a sentence where they made sense. Mario read the worksheet aloud to himself, concentrating very intensely, and then went to work. When the class went over them as a group, Mario saw that each of his answers was wrong, and he looked angry with himself and discouraged.

Mr. Ferraro, the Chapter I teacher, finds that Mario has a hard time getting himself to write in English. He too sees Mario as immature and unable to concentrate for very long. But he has also seen Mario struggling to write. Mr. Ferraro says that he understands what is spoken and discussed in class, but he is "just not there yet" as far as writing goes. Mario often corrects others — teachers as well as peers. He often calls his English teacher's attention to a period left off in a sentence written on the board, a letter written illegibly, or to the fact that he has passed his place in the book.

Mario is an enthusiastic, outgoing and happy child. He is almost constantly seen chatting with the children sitting next to him, getting up to tell something to another child on the other side of the room, or giggling about something. This behavior is not

appreciated by his teachers, and when he is gently reprimanded, he complies. His ability to socialize is so important to Mario that his first grade teacher feels he would be a different child today had he not been able to do so in his native language at such a young age.

As was seen earlier, the main characteristic Mario's teachers attributed to him was "immaturity". Through the patient work of his second grade bilingual teacher he has matured a great deal. Mario has developed more self-discipline and is more serious about carrying out his work now.

Mario says there is nothing about school which he does not like this year. He really looks forward to computer, art and gym classes. He particularly likes math, and he sees it as his best subject: "*Porque es muy difícil hacerlo, pero lo entiendo*" ("Because it is very hard, but I understand it.") He says he also likes reading. When asked if he prefers to read in Spanish or English, he doesn't hesitate; "Español. Porque en inglés es muy difícil...las palabras." ("Spanish. Because in English it is too hard...the words.") Mario has very high standards of achievement for himself, and he succeeds most in math, a subject which, at the second grade level, involves a minimal amount of critical reading.

He seems to view himself as a bilingual individual and to value that quality and see it as an advantage. When asked what he thinks about children and adults who speak Spanish and English, the following conversation ensued in Spanish:

Mario:	It's good to speak Spanish.
Researcher:	Do you think you speak good Spanish?
M:	(laughs) Yeah.
R:	Do you think you speak good English?
M:	Yeah.
R:	When you grow up and you have children, do you think you will teach them Spanish or English?
M:	Both
R:	Why?
M:	It's better to speak English *and* Spanish.
R:	When they went to school, would you put them in a bilingual program or an English-

He seems to view himself as a bilingual individual and to value that quality and see it as an advantage.

only program?

M: Bilingual.

R: If you could be in an English-only classroom, would you like that?

M: No.

R: Why not?

M: Because it's nice to speak Spanish. (April 4, 1991).

Mario says he would like to keep studying for a long time and go to college. When he is older, he might like to "work in an office... sign papers, know all of everyone's numbers ... to be able to help them out." (Mario, personal communication, April 4, 1991).

Integrated Bilingual Education

Integrated Bilingual Education programs connect existing bilingual and mainstream classes and teachers, preserving bilingual education for students in the Transitional Bilingual Education program (TBE). During the course of a day, students are integrated in different ways. Mixed groups of TBE and mainstream students are formed for some content area classes and classes with specialists, such as music, computer and art. Other integrated groups consist of TBE and mainstreamed Spanish speaking students for the purpose of receiving instruction in Spanish. At other times, TBE students are grouped by themselves for instruction in a content area in Spanish, or for concentrated ESL. Field trips, playground activities, lunch, holiday celebrations, and after school sports are all organized for the entire cluster to be together. The schedule is organized to offer all subjects to all students. The TBE students take some courses in Spanish only, some in English only, and some that are taught bilingually. The mainstream students take courses taught in English as well as some that are taught bilingually. Spanish-speaking students in the mainstream can take courses in Spanish as well. Carlos, a TBE student, and Nilda, a mainstreamed Spanish-speaking student, are both members of an integrated 5th grade cluster. This cluster has 50 students working with a bilingual teacher, a mainstream teacher and Chapter 1 teacher. In this particular elementary school, each Chapter 1 teacher is paired with two classroom teachers.

Carlos

It was snowing for the first time of the year. Carlos stood by the window and watched the snow collect on the outside sill. The window was open just a crack. Carlos stood by the window hoping to catch some snow blowing in. Carlos asked, " ¿Maestra, puedo tocarlo?" ("Teacher, can I touch it?") He already had a handful before an answer could be given. As Carlos watched the snow melt in his hand, there was an expression of excitement, wonder and joy on his face.

Carlos is 11 years old and up until November, he had lived on a farm in El Salvador where his family owned a house and raised cows and chickens. They also picked *anona*, a juicy tropical fruit, off the trees and sold it at the market. "In my town," Carlos tells, "there are dirt roads. The only paved road is the road that leads in and out of town." He also says that there are more cows than cars in the street.

Carlos likes El Salvador. He says that it's a nice place to live except for the war. He describes how soldiers barge into houses, give orders, and kill anyone who doesn't listen. With four sons eligible to be drafted into the civil war, Carlos' parents decided to leave El Salvador. The parents and oldest brothers came to Massachusetts, where they had relatives. Both parents worked to save money to bring the rest of the family over. The mother returned to El Salvador this past November to bring the rest of her family, including Carlos, to the United States.

Carlos

In El Salvador, Carlos completed the fourth grade, where he studied the same basic subjects that he studies here, except for art, music, and computer class. Carlos likes school here. He thinks that it is great that students don't have to pay for water. He was surprised to see so many "free" water fountains in school. He says that he also enjoys hot lunches here. Other details that have impressed him are the use of scissors in the classroom, free paper and pencils and doesn't have many books at home, but soon he will have a library card so he can borrow books from the town library. Carlos' favorite pastime in school is using the computer. He had never seen a computer in El Salvador. He enjoys playing math games and typing creative writing stories on the computer.

Carlos enjoys being with students and teachers who speak English and Spanish.

Carlos likes school here. He thinks that it is great that students don't have to pay for water.

the use of books. Carlos is also impressed that his American teachers write up tests on paper, and that they duplicate enough copies for everyone. He wishes that students in El Salvador could have the same supplies found in public schools in the U.S.

Carlos is adjusting well to school in the U.S. He has made the honor roll twice. He received B's in math, language, reading, science, spelling and writing, and in all of these subjects he has received A's for his effort. He also received A's for his conduct and work habits. When Carlos was asked if his brothers and sisters also receive good grades, he said yes. Both of Carlos' parents encourage their children to succeed academically. Carlos often asks his brother, who is in high school, to help him with his homework. Carlos also likes to read at home. He brings his language book home with him so he can read stories. His family

He takes reading, language arts and social studies in Spanish. Math is taught bilingually; science sometimes bilingually, sometimes in English; ESL and specialists, such as music, gym, in English.

Social studies is Carlos' favorite class. He enjoys learning about history and about people from all over the world. When he first found out that he would be moving to the U.S. he was very excited because he was curious about how other people lived. Since social studies is taught in Spanish, he is able to fully participate in class. Ms. Hill, the bilingual teacher, says he loves to memorize dates and names of historical events. He also likes to voice his opinions. When asked some reasons why the colonistswere rebelling against British rule, Carlos answered that since the reason the colonists came to the U.S. was for freedom, why should they listen to a king who was denying their free-

dom?

When Carlos first arrived, he was always asking for reassurance. In math, he would complete a problem and then ask the teacher or student teacher if it was correct. According to the bilingual teacher, he has the potential to be an excellent student but there are gaps in his basic skills. His Spanish grammar, punctuation and spelling need to be improved but the teacher attributes this to the different school curriculum in El Salvador and not to Carlos' aptitude.

Ms. Hill sees Carlos as a very self motivated child. He is very happy to be in the U.S. and very eager to do well in school. In math and language class, his desk is within a cluster in the front of the room. He works independently and rarely talks with his cluster members unless it is to confirm assignments or homework. He is quite meticulous about his things and doesn't like it when other students sit at his desk. He dislikes art class because the top of his desk gets very dirty.

In ESL and science class, Carlos is more dependent on his classmates because he needs help translating English into Spanish. Carlos says he enjoys having science with teachers who don't speak Spanish. He says that he likes to guess at what they are saying. Since he doesn't understand everything, he works with proficient bilinguals who translate lectures. In this program, students are also given the opportunity to do science in both languages. For example, when studying the skeletal system, they were allowed to learn the names of the bones in either Spanish or English. They are also free to take the test in either language. Carlos ended up taking the final in English and scored a perfect grade. Sometimes, however, he tires of English and tunes out.

Recently, while playing an ESL game, Carlos surprised himself at the amount of vocabulary that he really knew. The ESL teacher took the students outside and explained that on their way to the park, they had to name objects that began with particular letters. Carlos loved this game. He was shouting tree, apartment, car, bird, brick and more. When he couldn't think of an object, he would shout out expressions that he often hears in school. For example: "forget it," "be quiet" or "hold on."

Carlos enjoys being with students and teachers who speak English and Spanish.

The monolingual English teachers also see Carlos as a very eager and enthusiastic child. When a board needs to be washed or paper needs to be distributed, he is the first to volunteer. These teachers see him as a child who is excited about being in the U.S. and in school. Ms. Ross, the mono-

Carlos

lingual teacher, says that on a scale of 1-10, Carlos is a 10. She feels that his enthusiasm as well as his exposure to the integrated classroom model has helped him to do well. Ms. Ross says that Carlos began using English with her the very first day. She says that sometimes he surprises her. For example, one day recently she asked the class as a whole, "Where is Julian?" Carlos responded, "He's absent" before any of the English proficient students could answer. He also wrote a sympathy card to the librarian, who had just lost her father. In the card he wrote, "I sorry your father die." He did this without asking for help.

Sometimes he is afraid to speak English, but being surrounded by other students who are also learning the language helps. His closest friends are other new arrivals. During inside recess he plays with a boy from Costa Rica and a boy from El Salvador, or whoever is sitting at the computer. During outside recess, he plays with a group of girls and sometimes plays with the quieter boys. Although Carlos has been in the U.S. for only 6 months, he is a happy child who is adjusting well to his academic and social environment in the school.

All his teachers agree that Carlos has adjusted more rapidly than other new arrivals. They believe that his excitement about school and being in this integrated program has facilitated his adjustment. Some of Carlos' success can be attributed to his personality. Ms. Hill says that Carlos puts great pressure on himself because he wants to be recognized. She also feels that the integrated model has provided a secure multicultural environment where he doesn't feel different, because he is with others who were new arrivals just a short time ago.

Nilda

Nilda came to Massachusetts from Puerto Rico when she was nine years old. She had completed second grade at a public school on the island, yet she was not completely literate in Spanish, her native language. Nilda and her mother, Rosa, migrated to Massachusetts in search of better educational opportunities. Upon arrival, Rosa enrolled in an English as a Second Language program at a local community college, while Nilda entered third grade in a Transitional Bilingual Education program.

The mother and daughter moved to a neighborhood where the daytime school buses were replaced at night by the luxury cars of drug dealers. Because they had neither family nor friends, Rosa and Nilda felt isolated and scared. They decided to move to a three-story, six-family apartment building in a residential section of a smaller town, where there was a larger Puerto Rican population, and where bilingual programs would continue to be available to Nilda.

Nilda was tested in third grade, in the TBE program. According to comprehensive tests of basic skills in English, she scored below the national average. However, in mathematics she scored 20 percent higher than the average. Her computational skills were assessed at the 7.5 grade level. In mathematical concepts and applications, where more knowledge of English is re-

quired, she scored at a 1.7 grade level. In an assessment of her Spanish vocabulary and comprehension skills, she scored slightly above grade level. In the fourth grade, a similar test was administered to her in Spanish. Once again, she scored slightly above grade level.

Upon entering fifth grade, Nilda was mainstreamed, but within the Integrated Cluster. In the Integrated program, she takes math and social studies in English. Science is taught by all three teachers, so sometimes her science class is in English, sometimes it is taught bilingually. Although Nilda is mainstreamed, as a member of the Integrated Cluster she receives instruction in Spanish reading and language arts. This continues the development of her native language skills. A major concern of Nilda's mother is that she not lose her Spanish. The mother says: "*Aquí viven muchos hispanos y despues que saben inglés matan el español... Empiezan a decir que si el 'roofo', la 'yarda'* (Many Hispanics come here and after they learn English they murder Spanish, saying the 'roofo' or the 'yarda')."

A major concern of Nilda's mother is that she not lose her Spanish.

Nilda's language skills are not all on grade level. According to her teachers, she is at fifth grade level in Spanish and at about third grade level in English. Her teachers say that she needs to develop her English reading, writing, and speaking skills and her Spanish writing skills. She still has some fear of speaking in English. At times, her lack of confidence in expressing herself hinders her class participation. In all of her classes, Nilda works hard to complete her work, but she does not actively participate in the class unless called upon by the teacher. In math class, Nilda works diligently and often enjoys assisting those students who are having difficulty. However, on one occasion when she was paired with a monolingual student to solve some word problems together, she did not communicate at all with her partner, who tried to solve the problems on her own. Nilda gave no input. She then decided that she wanted to work with two other Puerto Rican students, and she left the monolingual student to work by herself. Nilda then worked productively with the Puerto Rican students.

At the beginning of the school year, Nilda did not socialize with many of the other students. She associated only with her best friend, María, another mainstreamed Puerto Rican student. Even in Spanish reading and language arts class, Nilda usually sits apart from the group and converses only with María. The teacher often separates them so that they can inter-

act with the other students in the class. However, as the school year progressed, Nilda associated more and more with the other students in the cluster, in particular with three other Spanish-speakers. And finally, during a class camping trip, she was able to relate freely with all students.

Nilda is a very shy person. Her teachers sense that she needs to develop her social skills. By involving her in a cross-age project where she tutors a first grader in reading every Friday and a second grader in math every Thursday, her social skills are developing and her reading and math skills are reinforced. More importantly, during the cross-age projects, she is in control of the situation. For example, with her language teacher's assistance, she finds a book in the school library which is appropriate for her first grade tutee. She has introduced her tutee to such genres as fairy tales and poetry. She reads to her slowly and carefully, pointing to every word that she reads. When she completes reading the story, she usually asks the child if she enjoyed the story, or she asks her reading comprehension questions. Then Nilda invites her to play games on the computer or to draw and color. This interaction with younger students seems to have helped Nilda come out of her shell.

Already, she finds that being bilingual is useful and necessary. Her bilingualism is put to use when she serves as her mother's interpreter and as her teacher. Nilda helps her mother pronounce English words, and her mother helps her pronounce Spanish. These experiences have made her feel good about being bilingual.

Two-Way Bilingual Program

Miguel and Pedro attend a Two-Way Bilingual school which goes from kindergarden through grade seven, with an eighth grade planned for next year. The goal of the program is that all students in the school learn Spanish and English. There are 384 students, 60% of whom come from Spanish-speaking backgrounds.

The school has two classes for each grade level, with one teacher and one aide. The majority of the staff is bilingual, including the principal. Classes are taught in both languages, with a greater proportion of English used for math and social studies instruction, and about an equal proportion of both languages used for science. The use of English increases in the upper grades. Language arts in Spanish and in English are taken by all students. Thus, Spanish as a Second Language is offered for all the native English-speakers. In the lower grades, students are grouped for language arts according to language dominance, and in the later grades they are grouped according to proficiency. For other subjects, students learn in their homeroom groups, which are fully integrated. Teachers use hands-on instructional techniques and cooperative learning methods to facilitate learning.

The goal of the school is to offer a full academic program using two languages, so that all students achieve bilingual proficiency, regardless of their mother tongue.

Miguel & Pedro

At 8:30 on Monday and Friday mornings, Miguel and Pedro leave their house to go pick up their friends, Andy and Robert, for school. Their mother has gone to work. On their way, they often pass a 30 foot mural painted on a garage. Its colorful slogans declare 'Latino Power' and 'We will do what we have to do to survive'; the mural also features a large portrait of Malcolm X. This area, with its triple-decker housing, is known for drug dealers and gangs.

Miguel and Pedro are the only two children of the Rodriguez family. Miguel is eleven years old, and Pedro is nine. They are third generation: their grandparents came from Puerto Rico in 1952 to settle in New York with the grandmother's sister. They had just married and were seventeen and eighteen years old when they migrated. The grandfather became politically involved with the Hispanic community in New York. The grandmother became a homemaker, taking care of their eight children. The family did not return to Puerto Rico; the grandfather said he "just wanted to make a life here in the United States with his kids."

After the grandmother suffered a severe illness, religion started to play a central role in the family's life. They became active members of a Pentecostal church. The grandfather decided to become a minister and accepted a job in Massachusetts at the Church of God in 1970. Miguel and Pedro's mother was thirteen at the time. She graduated from high school and got married. Five years ago she was divorced, and she now works at a housing project service, where she does intake interviews and translates for Spanish speakers.

In Miguel and Pedro's family, religion also plays a central role. Their mother regularly points out how it has helped her deal with the problems that face her as a single parent. They go to the Pentecostal church three evenings a week. At church, services, songs, and Bible study are conducted in Spanish. Miguel and Pedro are members of the church choir.

The two brothers are very close. Miguel often serves as role model for Pedro. For example, according to his mother, Miguel will:

> ...go down to his books before he will turn on the TV or the Nintendo game, and .. Pedro used to just come run and turn the TV on, he couldn't miss his cartoons or play Nintendo. Now..he doesn't do that. Now they *both* go into their room and so he finishes all his homework. (March, 1991)

pendent on each other.

Miguel and Pedro's mother's attitudes towards languages seem to reflect what her parents taught *her*. She says her father, "wanted us [his children] always to dominate the English language. He had his frame of mind: you get your Spanish at home" (March 6, 1991). According to his philosophy, command of English came first, but Spanish was not to be forgotten. He would tell his children: "Never forget that you are a Spanish person, [but] always dominate the language where you live...." His daughter remembers, "That was his *goal* for us" (March 6, 1991).

The same attitude is expressed by Miguel and Pedro's mother. She emphasizes that the cultural enrichment that the school provides is something she never had and cannot give. She adds that command of Spanish can be useful in the future when her children go out looking for a job or want to be active in the Hispanic community. She is proud of the fact that her sons are proficient in both languages:

Miguel and Pedro's mother... emphasizes that the cultural enrichment that the school provides is something she never had and cannot give.

> My other sister's two kids, they don't even know what you say to them in Spanish. At least my kids understand and they

> understand what the question is. They will respond in English but they know what they are talking about in Spanish. ...they can interpret. (March 6, 1991)

Pedro, however, has refused to respond in Spanish from the very beginning. His mother did not mind it but his grandmother did. She has little knowledge of English, and would call her daughter to find out what was going on, because Pedro refused to talk Spanish. She would ask her daughter, "What are you teaching this kid, he doesn't even know how to speak Spanish!", and Pedro's mother would answer that she tried, but that "if he doesn't want to respond I can't help that". On the other hand, when Pedro compares himself with students who are not fluent in English, he considers himself 'better': he can understand two languages, whereas they can not. Their only close friends outside school are English-speaking, and so are their cousins. They talk English to their friends at church as well, although the songs, the service, and Bible study are conducted in Spanish. Miguel comments on the reason why they talk English and not Spanish: "Cause they all understand English; right off the bat they don't start speaking Spanish, they start to speak English" (February 26, 1991).

With their grandmother, they mostly speak English as well, unless it is absolutely necessary to use Spanish. In other words, English is used most of the time, whereas Spanish is used only when they really have to.

Miguel and Pedro have been in the two-way bilingual school since kindergarten. Their attendance at the school was initially based on the fact that the school was nearby. Over the years additional reasons for staying at the school have come up. As their mother remarks:

> The kids are learning much more, the activities at the school... the culture that they learn... it's so good to them... it's something that I can't teach them because my background as I was not born and raised in Puerto Rico... and they getting a feel of what I didn't get... how it really is, how they live in Puerto Rico, what their music is, what

The boys' environment is predominantly English except for church activities.

Miguel is more open-minded, and did not show this kind of a resistance to Spanish. When asked about his feelings about Spanish, Miguel responded: "I like it [Spanish], but I don't use it all the time. It's just another language" (February 26, 1991). While Pedro is reluctant to speak Spanish at school, Miguel will use it whenever necessary. For example, when someone approaches him in Spanish, he will fluently respond in that language.

The boys' environment is predominantly English except for church activities.

their food is, what they're, you know... a whole culture. (March 6, 1991)

Pedro is presently in fourth grade. He took Spanish reading in both first and second grade, and in second grade social studies also had units in Spanish. In third grade, Pedro remarked, all subjects (except Spanish reading) were taught in English, but the teacher would switch to Spanish whenever necessary. Now he is in fourth grade, and there is an increase in the use of Spanish. He has math in Spanish most of the time, and on 'Spanish days' social studies is in Spanish as well, after Spanish reading.

When Pedro arrives in school in the morning, he enters his classroom, and his teacher greets him in English. His classroom is divided into two parts: a corner with projects in the back of the room, and a part with all the desks. The desks are grouped in four groups of six tables. The upper portion of one of the walls is lined with posters of discipline-related mottos, illustrated by drawings of multiracial groups of children. The sayings, as well as and most other materials, are in English (e.g. 'Runnning in school is far from cool' depicts a white boy running and a black child looking at him in surprise). There is one board decorated with Martin Luther King quotations in Spanish and English: 'A man with a dream/ *un hombre con un sueño*'. In the class Pedro sits at one of the back tables, his friend Robert at one of the front desks. They are in class with 22 other students, 14 of whom are Hispanic.

Pedro appears to be an impulsive boy who actively participates in class, but he is also sometimes easily distracted. He is very outgoing and seems to know everybody in the school. The latter becomes clear when you talk to him: he knows everybody from first up to seventh grade, including teachers, aides, and their stories. Pedro's mother used to get comments from teachers that Pedro was too sociable, that he talked too much. This year, after Pedro came home with a B+ for conduct, his mother made it clear to him that being social was not the purpose of his going to school. She told him, "You can do whatever you want, you don't follow no one, you don't *listen* to no one, just listen to the teacher, that's what you go to school for" (March 6, 1991).

Pedro's impulsiveness shows itself in the way he approaches assignments. He tries to solve math problems without carefully checking the several steps that might be necessary. For example, the teacher had her class working on math problems in small groups. The assignment consisted of steps that had to be followed in order to get the right answer. Pedro impulsively started counting and exchanging the wooden blocks, without realizing that he had overlooked some of the steps. Also, when working on his computer during computer class, he tends to run through a particular lesson and just memorize the right answer. He then runs it again and answers without really reading the questions again.

In general Pedro offers his opinions and answers to teacher's questions readily and easily in English class. His overall proficiency in English is good, and he is in the highest reading group (he has a B average for English). His oral skills are enhanced by his outgoing nature. Whenever the teacher asks questions about a text or a book that the class just read, most of the time Pedro is one of the pupils with his hand up. Also, when the class discusses topics, Pedro is one of the first to provide the teacher with his viewpoint.

In Spanish class, Pedro's attention is less focused and he does not participate as much as in the classes in English. He is more interested in what his classmates are doing and other distractions, such as getting up to sharpen his pencil and the like. His Spanish is grammatically not always correct, although he does get the right answers (e.g. he chooses the right verb, but does not conjugate correctly). Whenever he gets a chance, his responses are in English. For example, during one lesson the class had to define characteristics of a doll. Pedro's contributions, which were few, were all in English. His teacher acknowledged this resistance to speaking Spanish spontanously: "Pedro, he understands, but he can't produce..." (April 4, 1991).

he has Spanish as a Second Language, and the class presently has a science unit in Spanish.

Miguel's current sixth grade teacher greets many students in Spanish; he is one of the few monolingual English teachers and now is learning Spanish. In the room the desks are arranged in two U-forms; Miguel and his friend Andy sit at one of the outside ends. In the classroom there is a students' corner with a listing of each student's classroom jobs and the disciplinary rules. Miguel's homeroom has 22 students, 13 of whom are Hispanic.

Miguel has always loved school. His mother describes him as a 'bookworm'. He

In Spanish class, Pedro's attention is less focused and he does not participate as much as in the classes in English.

Miguel, Pedro's brother, is now in sixth grade. He had reading in Spanish in first and second grades. In second grade, Spanish was also used for science. In third grade he had some Spanish instruction in science, but most of the time English was used for that subject; all other subjects were in English. Miguel describes his fourth grade curriculum as including "lots of Spanish". For science he had one semester about the human body in Spanish, and one semester in English, and he had Spanish reading. In fifth grade Spanish was used for reading, while all other subjects were taught in English. As a sixth grader now, is more quiet and serious than his younger brother. During class time he does not actively participate, but listens attentively to what his teacher says, regardless of the subject or language of instruction; this behavior is typical of his general attitude towards school. For Miguel it is not enough to finish the assignment, he also wants to do it well. This often leads him to take the initiative when working in groups. For example, one day during social studies, the teacher had small groups work on different newspaper articles. Each group had to share a page of a newspaper, make a summary of the article, and state the facts and give their own

opinion. In Miguel's group some of the students did not start working but were chatting instead. At this point, Miguel took the newspaper page and did the assignment himself. When his fellow students asked him why he took the page away, Miguel responded that since they were not working, he might as well take it and use it. His teacher remarks:

> He will contribute, he will push others. Just because Miguel himself wants to do well, he's not going to let anyone slouch around in his group. If the group isn't participating, he's just going to take over (April 4, 1991).

In general, Miguel displays both this attitude of wanting to do well as well as the will to work hard for it if necessary. This quality has resulted in good grades for all subjects. In both English and Spanish, his proficiency is above average (a B+ in Spanish, an A- in English). Like his brother, he is in the highest reading group. For math he has to work hard: according to his teacher, "it's not easy for him."

The school organizes before and after school programs. Both Miguel and Pedro attend the Alerta before school program. It is the first year for Pedro and the third year for Miguel. The program is three mornings a week and is defined by a teacher involved in it as a program for Hispanic students who are either very bright [or] excel in a certain area. She says, "We also try to bring in other students who we like to develop in those kinds of areas." In the program, students "explore different [content] areas as well as study skills...how do we take exams" (March 20, 1991). Both Miguel and Pedro agree that the program prepares the students for taking tests. Much time is spent on special topics. For example, last year Miguel did a project on China, and the class went to a Chinese restaurant. This year the topic is Puerto Rico, its history, and its customs. Miguel and Pedro also attend a gym after school program once a week.

Transitional Bilingual Education Support for Mainstreamed Students

Five students in this study are enrolled in TBE programs that have between 40 and 65 students per language group spread out over K-8. Therefore, students are assigned to a mainstream homeroom for part of their instruction, while the remainder of the day they spend with the bilingual and ESL teachers. The purpose of these programs is to help students with their work in mainstream classes and to develop language and literacy skills, especially in English. The bilingual teachers tend to continue helping these students long after they are fully mainstreamed. Each program is implemented in a somewhat different way, depending on the school district and particular school where it is housed.

The Russian Bilingual Program

There are 40 Russian students in the bilingual program that Sergei attends. Two bilingual teachers and one ESL teacher work with the students in K-8. There is at least one daily 45 minute pull-out period for each grade level. During this period, students leave their mainstream classes and go either to the bilingual classroom or the ESL classroom to receive instruction based on the needs of the particular group. For example, during the same period every day, most Russian bilingual first graders go to the Russian bilingual teacher for small group instruction. During these pullout periods, the Russian language is used to help students understand information from the regular curriculum or to help them develop English concepts. The content of each lesson is determined by the needs of the particular group. For example, on one day in the bilingual classroom, the seventh grade group reviews material from the regular social studies curriculum in Russian, while the first grade group works on English letter sounds and English vocabulary using Russian to explain and clarify concepts. At some grade levels, depending upon the need, the bilingual teachers also go into the regular classrooms to provide support for the bilingual children within the mainstream classroom setting. The bilingual teachers also serve an important role by providing a link between the Russian parents, some of whom speak very little English, and the school.

Sergei

Sergei is a quick, joyful, very smart six-year-old boy with big blue eyes. He is very unlike his twin sister, Olga, a very solemn child who takes her studies at school very seriously. Although he has been in the United States less than a year, Sergei speaks English quite well with almost no accent. Olga's English is even better. In comparison to Olga, Sergei seems to be more childish and playful.

When Valentina, their mother, enrolled them in school, the teachers wanted to put Sergei in a kindergarten class and Olga in first grade. They felt that Sergei was small for his age, and not ready for first grade. Their mother adamently opposed the idea of placing them into two different grades. She was persistent, and Sergei and Olga were both placed in the first grade.

Sergei, Olga, and their mother came to the United States last spring as refugees. They made the difficult decision to leave Moscow for several reasons: the economic problems, the political instability and the rise of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. This move brought about many big changes in Valentina's life, and these events affected Sergei and Olga. Valentina was well established in Moscow. She had a degree as a construction engineer and a good job. Her mother lived with her and took care of the children. When the situation in the Soviet Union became worse, Valentina and her husband decided to immigrate to America with their children and the grandmother. The father, however, met another woman and decided to stay. The grandmother could go only to Israel because of visa problems. Therefore, Valentina and her children immigrated by themselves to the United States. She didn't expect that her life in the U.S. would be so complicated. Unable to find a job, she is presently living on welfare.

Unlike some of their other Russian classmates, neither Sergei nor Olga had attended kindergarden in Russia. Instead, they had spent their days in the care of their grandmother. Neither child could speak English when they arrived in Boston. When the bilingual teacher called their mother about the new Russian bilingual program, she was happy to enroll the twins. She felt that the program would enable her children to keep the Russian language. Since Valentina does not feel that her English is good enough to help her children with their school work, she believed that the bilingual program would be especially important for them.

Sergei and Olga are in a mainstream first grade class. The mainstream classroom is a spacious, well lit room. Drawings of Soviet and American children as well as the Russian and English alphabets adorn the walls. There is also a small library in the classroom. American and Soviet children bring their books from home and they read them in the classroom. If an American pupil cannot understand a Russian book, a Soviet child translates.

When asked why he doesn't participate actively in the discussions, Sergei says it is easier for him to speak Russian.

The mainstream teacher and her aide try to involve all the Russian children in the classroom activities and make sure that they all understand the assignments. They walk from one child to another, paying more attention to the Russian children. Some Russian children are silent almost the entire class, but some children talk, trying to express their ideas in English. Nina, the bilingual teacher, spends about 45 minutes each day in Sergei's homeroom class to provide support for the bilingual stu-

dents. If any of the Russian children need help with what the class is working on, she translates for them.

Sergei could easily be mistaken for an American student. He sits among Americans in class and interacts in fluent English with them. When the American teacher explains something in front of the whole group, some Russian students need the help from Nina. But Sergei seems to understand almost everything and almost never asks for help.

However, when the teacher discusses a theme with the whole class and asks the class probing questions, Sergei is silent. He seems to understand the questions because he responds when the teacher asks him directly. When asked why he doesn't participate actively in the discussions, Sergei says it is easier for him to speak Russian. Sergei's reading and writing skills in English are below grade level, according to his teachers. He never learned to read in Russian, except for the alphabet.

In observing Sergei, it was evident that having his twin sister in the same classroom helped. For example, when he doesn't behave properly during the class, she tries to stop him and she usually succeeds. If he can't understand something, his sister usually helps him.

Sergei goes to another teacher for reading. In this class, the teacher does not try to involve Sergei and other Russian boys in the classroom activities, although the students seem to want to be part of the whole class. She seems to assume that they do not speak English well enough to participate in the first grade reading program. For example, one morning while the class was reading some rhymes, Sergei and three other boys were playing with English letter cards and making words. Although Sergei and the other Russian boys seemed to enjoy playing with the cards, from time to time they tried to follow the reading teacher while she read rhymes and showed nice big pictures to the rest of the group.

The Russian students are pulled out of the mainstream classroom to go to the bilingual classroom for a 45 minute lesson every day. The bilingual classroom is a big, spacious room. There are many books in Russian and English including English-Russian dictionaries. On the walls are drawings by Soviet children. There are also birthday cards written in English and in Russian. The friendly atmosphere in the classroom and the positive attitudes of the Russian bilingual teachers toward Sergei and the other Soviet children help Sergei and his friends feel at home. They appear to want very much for these children to succeed. They also keep in close contact with all the teachers who teach Sergei and other Russian students.

Sergei seems more joyful and more comfortable during class in the bilingual classroom. It is simply easier for him to be among Russians and to speak Russian and English in a smaller group, where the teacher can understand both languages. Sergei actively participates in classroom activities. Sometimes he is over zealous and tries to answer a question directed to other students. Sergei almost always uses Russian when speaking to Nina or the other bilingual teacher.

Sergei enjoys the activities in the bilingual classroom. He likes to draw pictures of the meanings of the words discussed by the class. He is also very competitive. Once when the teacher asked Sergei and other students whether they knew the words that start with the letter 'H' he tried to re-

Sergei

member as many words as possible and to say them before the other pupils. He also has ESL with an American teacher whom he likes very much.

Sergei likes to spend time at school with his Russian friends. For example, at lunch time he and his Russian friends sit together and discuss various things in Russian. The Russian bilingual room is always full of students and Sergei likes to stop by at other times to play games or just to chat with the bilingual teachers.

The mainstream teachers want the American and Russian children to become better friends, to know more about each other, and to help each other. Early in the year, together with the Russian bilingual teachers, they organized a "joint venture," in which the American children and the Soviet children played the Russian game "Repka" ("turnip"). These joint activities have helped Sergei adjust to the American school system and to master his English.

In contrast, the reading teacher does not seem to bother with Sergei and the three other Soviet boys. She seems to assume that they would be unable to participate in the classroom activities. Yet by separating the American students from the other Russian pupils, the teacher has made it more difficult for Sergei to adjust to the class and to make friends with American children in that class.

The Japanese Program

The Japanese Bilingual Program in the school that Masa and Shimpei attend serves about 65 students in grades K-8. Most of the Japanese families stay in Massachusetts an average of a year, although a few families stay up to five years. Ms. Sunamura, the bilingual teacher, is assisted by two aides who are native speakers of English but know Japanese, and an English-speaking volunteer. The students are assigned to a mainstream class according to grade level. The bilingual personnel serve the students in three different ways. For the younger students, the teacher or aides spend time within the mainstream classes helping the children. The older students drop in at the bilingual classroom to receive help with assignments in their different mainstream subjects. In addition, newcomers are pulled out periodically for tutoring and English language development. Japanese students often do their assignments in Japanese, and the bilingual teachers help them translate these. The bilingual teacher keeps in close contact with the classroom teachers and the students' parents. The whole school works very hard to make the experience of these students a fruitful one.

Masa

The Takada family is from Tokyo, and have two sons: Masa, 7 years old, and Kenji, 5 years old. The couple had always wanted to come to the United States. A year and a half ago, their dream came true. The medical information company for which Mrs. Takada was working as a translator decided to send her to the United States. They had only one month to get ready. Mr. Takada quit his job and decided to help his

wife in her work.

When the Takadas mentioned their wish to stay in the United States long enough to complete their children's education, both of their families expressed strong opposition. Their view was that the Japanese school system offered an excellent education. Mrs. Takada's parents, both school teachers, couldn't understand why their grandchildren were to receive what was in their view a lesser quality education. They also worried that the children would have a hard time getting used to the language and, after acquiring English, that they would forget Japanese.

Mr. and Mrs. Takada had a different opinion of the Japanese educational system. After experiencing the excessive pressure and "Examination Hell," the period of preparation for college entrance exams, Mr. and Mrs. Takada decided that the exam-oriented education system encourages memorization and the mechanical learning style of repetition and suppresses independent thinking and creativity.

Both parents knew English before coming to the United States. Mrs. Takada was particularly fluent, since she had been a translator. However, as a result of the Japanese educational system, both still have trouble with aural comprehension and with speaking English. They have a strong desire to acquire English skills, but it is still hard for them to relax and have an enjoyable chat in English. The family speaks Japanese at home, although Mrs. Takada uses some English when she scolds her children. "I don't know why," she says. "I guess because of the nature of language or the usage of intonation. I'm not sure, but English phrases sound more strict than Japanese ones. They listen to me better in English than in Japanese." (Mrs. Takada, personal communication, April 1991) When the children argue with each other, they also switch into English. They socialize with both American and Japanese families, and that gives children the opportunity to use both languages with friends.

Masa was six years old when he came to the United United States and entered the first grade. Before coming to the United States, he had spent a year in kindergarten in Japan, where he learned to read "Hiragana", a Japanese alphabet system. Masa's parents' values with regard to their children's education were different from other Japanese parents. They carefully chose a kindergarten which was most likely to provide a relaxed and freer atmosphere. There, Masa learned how to play, how to socialize with others, and how to be responsible for specific chores in a very relaxed and nature oriented environment. There were lots of animals that the children cared for. However, academically, in areas such as, writing, reading, and math, he learned very little, compared with other kindergarten students in Japan. For instance, Masa did not even know how to hold a pencil when he came to school in the U.S., and he had to start at the very beginning, which is very unusual for a Japanese student. His parents did not teach any English to their children before coming to the United States. They thought it would be better for their children to learn real English here, rather than to learn unnatural English from their parents.

Masa is now in second grade. His oral Japanese is almost as good as that of other second graders in Japan. Occasionally, Masa has English interference in Japanese. Ms. Sunamura thinks he is a wonderful child. "Masa is such a sweet boy. He is very kind, he doesn't fight with anyone who is smaller than him, and he helps others

with anything he can. He is a wonderful child although he is now behind with his study." (April, 1991)

Mrs. Takada mentioned that Masa has a hard time dealing with pressure. "Whenever he encounters some problems, instead of facing them, he tries to escape. I wish he was tougher and more strict on himself" (March 1991). Ms. Sunamura says that Masa seems to have a short attention span and gives up on things very easily. For example, when he was observed working with a tutor in math, he would not sit down and study; instead, he preferred to play a game. He rushed through the exercises very quickly so that he could play. Except for the first couple of questions, he answered all the questions wrong, and he didn't pay much attention to the tutor's explanation. His mind was already busy with the games that he could play. When interviewed in Japanese, he loved to talk about his friends, swim team, his experiences in kindergarten; but when asked about his classes, he became quiet. He did not want to talk much.

Masa's homeroom teacher, Mrs. Brown, has an American father and a Japanese mother. She was born in Japan and came to the United States when she was eight years old. Although she cannot speak Japanese, her teaching style is very Japanese. She is serious and strict. She is always in control, and there is very little interaction among students. She tends to call on students who are slow, or who do not understand very well, and she patiently waits for their answers. For example, one day Ms. Brown wrote on the blackboard "6(8)+2=50", and asked Masa where the 6 came from. Masa was quiet for a while, so Mrs. Brown moved closer to him and said, "Think hard, Masa." Several other students were raising their hands, but Mrs. Brown said, "I want Masa to answer this question." Mrs. Brown waited some more, but Masa kept looking down at his cubes. Finally, Mrs. Brown gave up with a sigh. She gave the answer and went on to the next step.

Mrs. Brown's academic expectations for her students are very high. She seems to expect every student to understand right away. In the Japanese manner, she does not praise or encourage the students much; rather, she seems to take the right answers for granted. Masa doesn't want to talk about Mrs. Brown or her class. When asked how he feels about her, Masa said, "I don't know..... She is very strict."

"Masa has mastered conversational English so fast, faster than other Japanese children I've seen, that I was pretty amazed at first.", Ms. Sunamura recalled. With his pleasant, friendly personality, he soon made a lot of friends. While other Japanese children tend to stick together, Masa mixed in with American peers nicely from the beginning. On his report cards, Masa rates a "good" in almost all behavior categories such as friendliness, politeness, and cooperation. However, in academic categories such as reading, spelling, math, he is assessed as "needs improvement."

Mrs. Brown seemed quite angry about the whole situation. She admits that Masa has a wonderful personality, but she is not happy with his academic performance. She said, "He is very, very behind. Anyone who is here for two years begins to read and write promptly, but oh, do you know what he is reading now? This book, it's for the first grade, and he's been here for almost two years. There is a boy from Mexico who came here only a year ago, but he caught

up so quickly and he reads and writes much better than Masa." (April, 1991)

Mrs. Brown thinks that she has tried everything she can do to help him. She said she even "spoon-feeds" him because he doesn't have the motivation to learn, and he is a passive learner. She added,

> You know, a teacher can only do so much. I think he needs his parents' help now. I understand his parents are very busy, but the parents values toward success and achievement are reflected in the child. I think they need to push him a little harder.

Ms. Sunamura, on the other hand, is very calm about Masa's progress, and she seems to watch over Masa from a distance. She admits that Masa is behind, expecially in math; however, she points out that he is not the only second grader who uses first grade materials in language arts.

Mrs. Brown thinks that Masa may have learning disabilities, while Ms. Sunamura thinks it's too early to come to such a conclusion. She maintains that he was not doing badly last year. Ms. Sunamura says that although Masa does have a very short attention span, he is trying. She points out that Masa just isn't aggressive: he doesn't like to compete with anyone, prefering to cooperate insteaing team because she thought Masa should be studying all the time. However, Ms. Sunamura opposed the idea, saying that Masa would lose everything if they took swimming away from him. At this point, his swimming ability is the only skill of which he feels confident, and Ms. Sunamura was afraid that Masa would be discouraged if he lost evertmosphere in his mainstream classroom has made him nervous.

Masa goes to the bilingual classroom several times a week. At the beginning of this semester, Masa was pulled out almost every day. However, Ms. Sunamura noticed that Masa was enjoying being singled out, and that he began to not pay attention and to daydream during his homeroom class more and more, knowing that he was going to go through everything with Ms. Sunamura later. She therefore reduced his pull-out time.

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There is a sign that says *Youkoso* (Welcome) in Japanese at the entrance of the bilingual classroom. The room is always full of students, not only those who come here for help, but also other Japanese students who just like to stop by and chat with the bilingual teachers and their peers. No-

Masa

body talks in English here, it is just like being in a Japanese classroom. Masa is more talkative and lively in the bilingual classroom than in the mainstream classroom. Ms. Sunamura is very kind and patient with Masa. He does quite well, especially when he is taught one on one and when he doesn't feel under pressure to respond. Ms. Sunamura constantly praises Masa and encourages him to work. She said, "At this point, all he needs is encouragement. He knows he is behind and he is losing confidence in himself. We have to give him a lot of praise to input a positive self-image."

Ms. Sunamura has been a teacher, a good listener for children, a counselor, an adviser, and perhaps most important of all, she has been a liaison between the Japanese students and the classroom teachers, as well as between the Japanese parents and the classroom teachers. For example, Mrs. Brown was going to tell Mrs. Takada to have Masa quit the swimming team because she thought Masa should be studying all the time. However, Ms. Sunamura opposed the idea, saying that Masa would lose everything if they took swimming away from him. At this point, his swimming ability is the only skill of which he feels confident, and Ms. Sunamura was afraid that Masa would be discouraged if he lost everything of which he could be proud.

Because Mrs. Takada and Mrs. Brown have such different values toward education, it is hard for them to understand each other. At this point, Mrs. Takada feels that Mrs. Brown pushes Masa too far, and Mrs. Brown is frustrated because she thinks the parents should push him further. However, Ms. Sunamura has been trying her best to establish a good relationship between them, recognizing that it is Masa who is the one most affected by their relationship. Without Ms. Sunamura's help and proper interaction, Masa would have felt discouraged, and the conflict between the teacher and the family could not have been avoided. Ms. Sunamura's efforts have helped them a great deal to achieve a smooth relationship, and eventually helped Masa to maintain a healthy self-image.

Shimpei

Shimpei was born in Osaka, Japan. Both of his parents are well educated. He is their only child. Shimpei's family moved to Massachusetts so that his father could pursue a doctorate in public health. Shimpei's mother spent a year in the United States while attending college. She loved her time in the United States, "because they let me be myself."

Shimpei's family moved from their original home in Massachusetts to their present location so that Shimpei could take advantage of the Japanese bilingual program. Shimpei entered the fifth grade of the Transitional Bilingual Education program in September 1987 at the age of ten. Shimpei had gone to school in Japan through fourth grade. His school experiences there were not particularly happy. He was teased a lot by his classmates because he did not share their interests in T.V. or sports. He often came home with a bloody nose. The parents decided that they wanted to move to America where they thought he would have a better educational experience. "I was interested in the U.S. since I was in kindergarten," declared

Shimpei. "Because U.S. was very famous."

Shimpei entered the bilingual program with virtually no English speaking ability. He had attended summer school in order to have a taste of American school life and an introduction to the English language. Up to that point, his only exposure to English had been through his mother teaching him the alphabet and a few short phrases such as "Hello, how are you?"

Initially, the violin was an important tool for Shimpei in building a bridge from one culture to the other. He had begun playing in the first grade, and by fifth grade, had become quite proficient. He said, "When I came here, I couldn't speak language, but I could play the violin which could make myself perform to public, to the school kids. I think it helped me a lot in making friends." He joined the town's children's orchestra, a positive experience for him, where he met other American children, including some from his own school.

Shimpei is a highly motivated boy with a persistent desire to improve his language facility and to attack and conquer the barriers to his progress, no matter how challenging they may be. Nonetheless, that first year was extremely difficult for him. As one teacher stated: "He was very hyper at the time. It was a very traumatic move for him" (April 1, 1991). He spent a great deal of time in the ESL and the Bilingual classrooms. The Bilingual classroom in particular became a "safe place" for Shimpei, giving him a sense of security by providing resources with which he could identify. Teachers who were either native to his culture or at least conversant in Japanese encouraged him.

The focus of his mainstream classroom at the time was American history and math. Since his English ability was so limited, Shimpei was unable to gain much from these classroom lessons. The bilingual teacher encouraged him to write stories in Japanese. She would then translate them into English. Most of his stories were about space travel, a topic of great interest to him. Through this story writing, Shimpei kept up some contact with his own language, and began to experience his own creative thinking expressed in his new language.

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Not only was the language new to Shimpei, but the "school culture" was new as well. He found the school life in the U.S. much more informal, less structured and regimented than that which he had experienced in Japan. His mother recounted an incident which captures this difference:

One day Shimpei couldn't finish his

homework. If that had happened in Japan we would have had to write a letter explaining why he didn't finish it. Parents are required to write such a letter.... This particular day, Shimpei said he couldn't do the homework so I asked him, "Should I write a letter?" He said that he wouldn't need one because the teacher would believe him when he told her the reason. "She will trust what I say." When he was attending the school in Japan, if I didn't write a letter, he didn't go to school. He couldn't go. He didn't have the courage. (Shimpei's mother, personal communication, March 16, 1991)

In Japan, students are expected to be quiet, remain in assigned seats and above all to be obedient and respectful of the teacher. A student there would never challenge a teacher. Shimpei found himself inadvertently bowing to his teachers here, too. He commented:

> Many kids thought it was strange, many kids laughed, but I didn't really care because you know how kids tease in Japan. So I got used to it. So I didn't really mind, that's one thing helped me because if I really mind about it I wouldn't study really hard, you know, and I get scared of Americans. "Why are they laughing at me? I'm doing something wrong?" I quite thought like that (March 11, 1991).

By the end of the fifth grade, Shimpei began to speak and write English, though he was still quite limited. Because of these limitations, he still felt quite insecure. He still socialized mostly with Japanese students:

> I stay there [bilingual classroom] whole day and I didn't even speak to my American friends. I didn't even try to do it. I'm not really sure why, maybe that's difference between languages and cultures.
>
> And they [non-Japanese] don't look same as me, that's one thing I think, that always happens I think. Even here, even people who could speak English, black comes to one group. Orientals come to one group. (Personal communication, March, 1991)

While Shimpei's memories of his early experience reflect a somewhat sheltered and negative outlook, his teachers (the bilingual teacher, the teacher aide, the fifth grade mainstream teacher) remember Shimpei as being shy, happy, perhaps insecure, yet highly motivated and very bright. They also remember him as having a strong desire to interact with peers. (Japanese and non-Japanese) but seeming to lack the skills to do so. They agree, however, that Shimpei was accepted readily by his fifth grade peers.

In fifth grade, Shimpei also attended an ESL class every day. The ESL teacher concentrated entirely on English. Shimpei enjoyed this teacher very much and found her to be encouraging and sensitive to each student's individual needs. She particularly focused on his writing and speaking skills.

Sixth grade was a very different experience for Shimpei. The sixth grade teacher was a very serious man who had high expectations of his students. Shimpei found that he had to study very hard, memorizing "giant" vocabulary lists with extremely difficult words. The demanding curriculum included math, with word problems that often were difficult even for the native speakers. In order to meet these increasing academic demands, Shimpei had to study long hours every day staying up till midnight most nights.

His parents were a great support for him, helping whenever they could. Shimpei reflected on this period of his life: "I was

tired of doing it, but I like it sort of and I think I thought about future helping me about English and it really did help me. I think it was good" (March 16, 1991).

Shimpei continued going to the Bilingual classroom for help, three or four times a week for several hours each time. He would study each subject together with the bilingual teacher. He also continued in ESL. He especially enjoyed that class because the teacher used the computer a great deal. The teacher created original games to teach principles of English usage. "I like the computer and feel like it is my friend," commented Shimpei. This worked wonders in the development of Shimpei's speaking and writing skills.

glish. The focus was on grammar and vocabulary. As a result, Shimpei's English conversation ability dropped off markedly that summer. During the first several months of his seventh grade (back in the U.S.), he spent time working to regain some of the skills that he had lost. That first quarter, he received a number of C's on his report card. The second quarter, working doubly hard, he achieved mostly A's and B's. By the third and fourth quarters, Shimpei had achieved Honor Roll status. During that year, he only went to the Bilingual Classroom during study periods for homework tutoring. Other than those visits and his regular ESL classes, Shimpei carried the full complement of academic courses.

"I enjoy getting attached to other countries' peoples," he says.

Though the academic demands of the sixth grade were quite high, Shimpei's predominant memories are of his teacher's challenging him in such a way that he made marked progress in his English ability. Also, by the end of sixth grade, he had made several American friends with whom he felt he could comfortably talk, play, and study.

In the summer Shimpei completed the sixth grade, his family returned to Japan and he entered a summer program in English. The focus was on grammar and vocabulary. As a result, Shimpei's English conversation ability dropped off markedly that summer. During the first several months of his seventh grade (back in the U.S.), he spent time working to regain some of the skills that he had lost. That first quarter, he received a number of C's on his report card. The second quarter, working doubly hard, he achieved mostly A's and B's. By the third and fourth quarters, Shimpei had achieved Honor Roll status. During that year, he only went to the Bilingual Classroom during study periods for homework tutoring. Other than those visits and his regular ESL classes, Shimpei carried the full complement of academic courses.

After seventh grade, the family once again returned to Japan during the summer. Shimpei was enrolled in a high school level English course. He studied English grammar and did very well. This helped Shimpei's confidence immensely and he returned to the U.S. with renewed motivation. According to his parents, relatives and friends, he had become even more friendly and cheerful than before.

This year (eighth grade) has brought about tremendous changes, both academic

Shimpei

and social. As his fifth grade teacher has stated: "The system has really worked 1,000% for him." He has fully integrated into the mainstream of school life. He no longer attends ESL, nor does he require the help of the bilingual classroom (except on rare occasions, like when he is in need of lunch money). He is now learning another lanuage, Spanish. The fact that he is the only Japanese student in the school taking Spanish has boosted his self-esteem and given him a new area of study to enjoy. He continues to excel in violin, studying at the New England Conservatory and playing in the school orchestra.

Socially, he has made tremendous strides. This fact has been attested to by all of the teachers who have known him over these past four years. This year, for the first time, he cheerfully greets them in the hallways. Also, he is participating in a team sport. His classmates are very friendly, and he now feels accepted as a regular member of the group. Some have commented that this year he seems to have mastered the art of "friend making." He even attended a dance at school and said that when he asked girls to dance, no one refused. Now, most of his closer friends are non-Japanese peers. He has become close friends with two Brazilian boys. "I enjoy getting attached to other countries' peoples", he says.

Shimpei is the first student to complete the school's Japanese bilingual program. His family is planning on moving back to Japan at the end of the year.

The Vietnamese Program

The program Phong attends is a combinaton of Transitional Bilingual Education Support and self-contained TBE. Forty-three Vietnamese students are serviced by two bilingual teachers. These teachers and an ESL teacher work with all Vietnamese students in grades K-2. Students in grades 3-7 are mainstreamed half of the day while they spend the other half with the bilingual teachers. The bilingual teachers work in two small adjacent rooms. They both teach the standard school curriculum, using both Vietnamese and English. With the older children, Mrs. Tran presents all lessons in English, using Vietnamese to elaborate and clarify information. Each grade level is given assignments and then the students work independently while the teachers meet with small grade level groups for instruction. Once a week they teach Vietnamese language and culture. The goal of both teachers is for students to become proficient enough in English to function in mainstream classrooms. An ESL teacher works with the students in grades K-2.

Phong

Phong was born in Vietnam on March 8, 1978 and lived there with his parents, grandfather and four older brothers and sisters until he was seven years old. He lived a comfortable, carefree life playing with other children. But when he turned eight everything changed, and his family became impoverished. He had to stop going to school in order to help his parents with the family garden and house chores. At night he stud-

ied with his mother and father. During this period of his life Phong was rather unhappy.

Phong's uncle decided to go to the United States. Phong, who was eight years old, and his sister, who was thirteen, accompanied their uncle. Phong came to the United States in order to get an education and make a better way of life for himself. Phong's older brothers and sisters and parents remained in Vietnam. Embarking on a month's boat trip with about 30 other people, Phong reached the refugee camps in Hong Kong, stayed there for two years and then was sent to the Philippines where he stayed for six months. He studied English while at this camp. Their uncle reached Massachusetts ahead of them and was able to sponsor them so they could get to the United States. Phong and his sister now live by themselves in Massachusetts in a town adjacent to where their uncle lives, but they board the bus many weekends to visit him and his family. Phong corresponds with his parents and misses them. When asked if he planned to return to Vietnam, Phong answered: "Sometime in my future."

Phong speaks Vietnamese exclusively at home with his sister, and when he visits with his uncle's family. He associates mostly with Vietnamese children both in and out of school. He would like to have more American friends and hopes this is possible once his English improves. One of the teachers, however, does not think that Vietnamese and American children relate together much in the town where Phong is living.

Phong was eleven years old a year ago when he entered the bilingual program in the fifth grade. Because he came to the United States mainly to get a better education than was possible for him in Vietnam, Phong takes education very seriously. When asked what he does after school and on weekends, Phong responds that he studies.

Phong is presently in the sixth grade. The bilingual program for children in grades 3-7 is a half-day program. Phong is in a mainstream 6th grade for the morning to study English, math, art, and physical education and to have lunch. He is in the bilingual class from 12:00 to 2:00 in the afternoon to study science, social studies, reading and writing. The focus of the program is to help him understand the 6th

Mrs. Michael and Mrs. Conant were not aware of Phong's family situation and educational background. They had no contact with Phong's family.

grade curriculum taught in English. For 30 minutes once a week he receives instruction in Vietnamese language and culture.

Mrs. Michael, his homeroom teacher, states that Phong is brilliant in math. "He always does his homework and is extremely polite" (Personal communication, March 3, 1991). He is quiet and withdrawn and speaks very little. But he has blended well with the other students in the class. Although he never volunteers answers, he always knows the answer when called on. Phong's only difficulty in math is with word problems. The teacher usually reads the problem to him and then he is immediately able to figure it out. He received an "A" in math.

Phong's entire class has a different teacher for English. Mrs. Conant characterizes Phong as "extremely quiet and respectful with an outstanding attitude" (Personal communication, April 2, 1991). He puts in extraordinary effort, doing all of his homework to the best of his ability. During English class, Phong sits in the back corner of the classroom and never says a word unless called on. He completes his grammar worksheets dilingently and his answers are usually correct.

Mrs. Conant does not usually grade Phong's writing. She puts a check with a comment such as "Good try. Keep up the good work". She gave him a "C" on his report card last marking period. In the most recent marking period he got a "B." However, she does not grade him like the other students due to his difficulty writing clearly in English. When Phong writes, he uses an English-Vietnamese dictionary. His writing demonstrates his difficulty with the nuances of English word meanings. The content of his writing usually demonstrates adequate knowledge of his subject. His organization, however, is somewhat choppy. He has many grammatical errors that somewhat obscure the meaning. His spelling is excellent. His teachers have seen great improvement in his English. He is able to speak and write on a very concrete level, but he is unable to express deeper feelings, attitudes or ideas. For example, when interviewed he could give the facts surrounding his immigration to the United States, but when asked how it felt to be living in this country he was unable to articulate his feelings. Nor was he able to explain why his uncle had moved to another town.

Mrs. Michael and Mrs. Conant were not aware of Phong's family situation and educational background. They had no contact with Phong's family. They were quite surprised when they were told that he was living alone with his sister and that his parents and older siblings remain in Vietnam.

Phong walks to school with two other Vietnamese boys and begins his day in the bilingual class before going to his mainstream homeroom. He chats with the other children in Vietnamese and asks Mrs. Tran, the bilingual teacher, for help with anything that he does not understand. Mrs. Tran displays a warmth toward the children in her classroom and seems to have a genuine interest in them. Phong does not receive any help with his school work from his sister or his uncle. In fact, he stated that he spoke better English than his sister, so he helped her with her high school work.

Phong seems at ease in the bilingual environment, conversing easily with his peers. He states that he enjoys the bilingual program because of the Vietnamese friends he has and because his teacher uses Vietnamese to explain anything to him

Phong

that he has trouble understanding. Phong would like to repeat the sixth grade next year and remain in the bilingual program in order to learn more, but Mrs. Tran sees no reason for him to be retained, as he is an honor student. She also feels that he is proficient enough in English to be mainstreamed at the end of this year.

The Chinese Program

Lili attends a school with students from eleven different nations. All of them are serviced by two ESL teachers. In addition, a Chinese teacher who speaks Mandarin and Cantonese works with the Chinese students. She helps them with reading and writing in English as well as the content areas such as science and social studies, which she explains in Chinese. The teacher meets with the students' parents periodically or when the need arises.

Lili

Lili is a pretty nine-year-old girl from Taiwan, who speaks Guoyu (Mandarin) as her first language. She has an intelligent face and beautiful eyes. Initially, she appears very shy. But as she develops confidence she is a very active and engaging child. Lili's family includes her father, mother, and her 13-year-old sister. Her mother had been working as a pharmacist for ten years in Taiwan before her arrival in the United States in 1986, and is now working as a pharmacist in a hospital. Her father was a dentist in Taiwan, and now is here doing business. They have many relatives in Taiwan.

Last year, Lili came to the United States with her father and her elder sister to join her mother. She was eight years old and had completed a year and a half of primary school in Taiwan before coming. The school in Taiwan was very different from the school here. The teachers there would punish the students if they made mistakes more than three times. The students had to sit up straight and be very quiet in class. She said she likes the school here because there is no pressure and the teachers here don't hit the students. In Taiwan, she was a very good student, performing above average in all her school subjects.

Lili's father hired an American tutor to teach her English in Taiwan when they found out that they would be moving to the United States. For more than a year, the tutor went to Lili's house once a week for an hour-long lesson; however, according to Lili, "It didn't help because the tutor was an American and didn't know any Chinese. Nobody knew what she was talking about" (March 20, 1991). Her mother also said the English tutor didn't help Lili much because of their language barrier. When she first came to the U.S., all she knew how to say was 'What's your name?', 'How old are you?', and 'How are you?'. She felt very scared when she first went to school because "I didn't know anything the teachers said, and I didn't have any friends" (March

20, 1991).

Lili's mother moved to a suburban town in Massachusetts a few months before her husband and children came in 1990. She chose the town for its setting and for its good schools. After the children attended a school with no bilingual program for a month, she was able to enroll them in a school that had a Bilingual/ESL program for Chinese students. Lili entered a second grade mainstream class towards the end of the academic year. Initially she felt scared in school because she didn't understand English.

Lili is presently in a mainstream third grade class and receives support from the Bilingual/ESL program. On the second floor of the school building right across the stairway between two monolingual classrooms is a door with a big sign proclaiming "Bilingual/ESL Class". This is the classroom where Lili comes for half an hour of ESL every morning, and about an hour of bilingual instruction three afternoons a week. The classroom is a two-room combination.

Lili and her sister started in the bilingual class on their first day at their new school. "I came here (Bilingual/ESL) the first day in this school. I just stayed. It helped me to learn the words". She likes the Bilingual/ESL class very much because, "Anything I don't understand in English, Mrs. Cheng help me in Chinese" (March 20, 1991).

Her favorite subject in school is math because it is the easiest subject in English for her. Lili says that the easiest thing about school is gym, and the most difficult one is reading. She finds social studies difficult because of her English, but she still likes it. Since she is very active and loves gym class, her parents send her to a gymnastics program after school.

According to Lili's bilingual teacher, Lili's English reading and writing is about two years below grade level, but her math is far above average. Lili's mother feels that although two years behind in reading and writing, Lili has made much progress in her English, considering that she started almost from scratch one year ago. Her mother has a very positive attitude towards the bilingual program. She said that it helped her children a lot with their English. When asked what she knew about the program, she said,

"A Chinese should know how to speak Chinese."

I know what is taught in the program.

> Lili is in that program not to learn Chinese, but to learn English. Since the teacher knows Chinese, it is easier for the child to learn English, especially for the beginners. Her father and I can both teach her Chinese at home and we have the Chinese text books. If we wanted her to learn Chinese, we would send her to the special Chinese language school in the town. (Lili's mother, personal communication, April 15, 1991)

At school Lili speaks Chinese with a Chinese girl who is also in the ESL class and knows Mandarin. Most of the time Lili communicates in English. When the bilingual teacher uses English, Lili appears to understand most of the instruction. She looks at the teacher directly, puts up her hand, and tries to answer the question if she understands what is asked. If she doesn't understand, she looks puzzled and lowers her eyes. Lili often responds to her bilingual teacher in English even if she is asked and given the instructions in Chinese. However, when she was interviewed by a bilingual Mandarin-English speaker she responded in whatever language was used. She was very comfortable in her first language. She also liked to answer questions in English, even if it was a little difficult for her sometimes. If she couldn't find the right word in English, she would use a Chinese equivalent. She never switched to English when responding in Mandarin.

Lili is literate in Chinese. Her Chinese reading ability is above average. She can read the letters her grandparents and relatives write to them. Sometimes she writes her grandmother a letter. According to her mother, "Although her Chinese writing skill is below average, it has also improved" (March 15, 1991). She likes reading story books. At home there are lots of Chinese story books as well as Chinese math books. Her father often tells her Chinese stories, and teaches her reading and math in Chinese.

The parents never speak to their children in English at home. Sometimes the two children speak some English with each other, but not in front of their parents. "Ninety percent of the conversation between the two children is in Chinese," according to Lili's mother (April 14, 1991). Although Chinese is the only language used at home, Lili gets English support from her mother, who always tries to spend some time every day helping her with her school work. Lili tells her mother what she doesn't understand at school. Her mother then explains to her in Chinese what she is supposed to do.

Lili's strong background in her native language makes learning a second language easier. For example, when reading a story she came across "task" and "dusk" two words she did not understand. When the teacher said the equivalent words in Chinese, she nodded and gave the following definitions in English: "work" and "six o'clock in the evening."

Lili has a very positive attitude towards both her native and second languages. She maintains and keeps developing the native language which she thinks reflects her identity. According to her, "A Chinese should know how to speak Chinese." Besides, she wants to be able to communicate with her relatives when she goes to Taiwan to visit. English is also important to her since she wants to live and go to school in the U.S. Another important reason for her is that she wants "to make some friends." When asked in what language she would speak to her children, she responded: "Both." (March 20, 1991)

English as a Second Language Program (ESL)

Omar attends a school district where there are 49 students in grades K-12 who are native speakers of languages other than English: Portuguese, Cape Verdean, Khmer, Vietnamese, Japanese, Polish, and Arabic. There are two itinerant ESL teachers who service these students directly or monitor them. The direct-service program is a pull-out program in which students are taken from the classroom and instructed in English for half an hour a day. The ESL teachers work in close coordination with the classroom teachers and periodically visit the students' homes. The monitor program involves the ESL teachers meeting once a month with the classroom teachers of the monitored students to check on the progress of the students, to give advice and suggestions, and to disseminate articles pertinent to bilingual education. The ESL teachers are available for consultation by phone at any time if the classroom teacher finds it necessary. They also keep in close contact with the parents and encourage classroom teachers to do so as well.

Omar

Omar is a six year old Palestinian child born in Kuwait. Omar's father grew up in Jordan and in Kuwait. He attended an American university and returned to Kuwait where he started his own shipping company which exported petroleum products. He speaks fluent English. Omar's mother is a college educated Syrian women. She speaks very little English. Omar has one older sister and two younger siblings. Omar's older sister speaks English fairly well and the younger siblings speak little or no English. Thus, the family uses only Arabic at home. Shortly after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the family fled and left all of their belongings behind. When they arrived in America they moved in with Omar's paternal grandparents, who had been living in America for five years. Omar's parents plan to stay in the United States. In spite of their insistence that they will be staying in America, Omar persists in telling the people around him that they will be returning soon. As of late, Omar has satisfied himself by saying that he will return in "six years" because he heard his father say that it will take at least that long for Kuwait to be reconstructed.

Omar started school at the age of four in Kuwait. He attended a private English school staffed by British teachers who used no Arabic at all in any grade or subject. Initially, Omar found it difficult and frustrating because he knew no English. As he became more proficient in English, his frustration decreased. By the time Omar and his family left Kuwait, Omar was doing well in school. At the time of the invasion of Kuwait, Omar was in his second year in the British School.

When Omar arrived in Massachusetts he entered the first grade and was put into the monitor E.S.L. program. The E.S.L. teacher felt that his English proficiency was sufficient for him to be able to function adequately in a mainstream classroom. The father wanted a copy of the curriculum and each book Omar would be using so that he

would be able to spend some time with Omar at home on his studies. He asked the teacher to give him periodic progress reports so that he could keep abreast of Omar's progress in school. His knowledge of English greatly facilitates the communication with the teachers.

The E.S.L. teacher urged Omar's father to continue to speak Arabic at home and suggested that the parents might begin to teach him how to read and write in Arabic. Omar did not know how to read or write in either English or Arabic when he entered school.

Omar's mainstream teacher keeps in very close contact with the family. She has visited their home and has invited the family over to hers. She talks to Omar's father about once a week, and has had conferences with both parents. Her classroom has children of varied abilities who work in heterogeneous groupings. The classroom is a language rich environment that encourages student creativity. Her students' experiences are an important aspect of the curriculum content. The curriculum is organized thematically. Since Omar entered the classroom she has read and taken courses that will help her understand bilingual students.

Omar's mainstream teacher keeps in very close contact with the family. She has visited their home and has invited the family over to hers.

For the first few weeks of school, Omar was very shy with the other children and spent most of the day sitting on the teacher's lap or standing by her chair. He was very eager to speak to the teacher and would answer any and all questions she had about his family, school, and Kuwait. He frequently visited his sister, who was in a classroom across the hall. They would talk in Arabic and interact with a great deal of physical touching. Then Omar would smile and walk back to the classroom. This easy access to his sister at any time of the day is still a comfort to Omar. They frequently eat lunch together. Omar's teacher often gets the two of them together to pass on a message to their parents.

When Omar began school here, he could converse in English, though his ability to understand was much more limited than his ability to speak. However, he would boldly ask "What means ...?" whenever he did not understand what the teacher or a classmate were saying. In English reading, he was able to efficiently decode on a beginning first grade level, but understood very little about what he was reading.

As he felt less intimidated by his new surroundings, Omar began to display a very lively, animated personality. He was quick to make friends, and consequently he has become very well-liked by the other

children in the class. He very quickly learned all the names of the children in the class and has made some strong friendships. He has a good sense of humor, and isn't opposed to laughing at his own mistakes and misgivings, though he is careful never to laugh at other children. He is very respectful of adults and is well known throughout the school for his happy face and cheerful attitude.

During the Gulf War, Omar would share his knowledge about the situation. This gave him a certain expert status in the classroom, and it helped to personalize the war for the other children when ever it was discussed, formally or informally, in class. In other areas too, Omar enjoys being an expert. He has a keen interest in reptiles and enjoys adding to class discussions whenever a reptile is discussed, especially if the reptile happens to come from the desert. Having lived near the desert his whole life, Omar is quick to relate his experiences about living there.

Omar has become very "Americanized" in his mannerisms, manner of speaking, and interests. His speech is peppered with terms like "awesome" and "radical", slang readily accepted by his peers, and which Omar uses to show that he is becoming American. He talks about television programs like "The Simpsons" and "Ninja Turtles". Yet, at the same time, Omar loves to teach the class how to count in Arabic or to say certain Arabic expressions that coincide with American expressions. He has brought in from home family photographs and tapes of children singing Arabic songs and has invited his sister into the classroom to teach the children how to do Arabic dances.

Omar's general school performance has shown improvement; his oral language skills have shown the most progress. His strategy of asking the meanings of words whenever he hears one that he doesn't know has helped him increase his verbal vocabulary. When he does learn a new word he tries it out often in the course of a day to see if it "fits". His writing skills are improving, although the language he uses in his writing is reflective of his speech. Omar is spelling at the advanced phonemic stage, steadily replacing his invented spelling with conventional orthography. He has a good story sense, including the basic story elements in his predictions and retellings. He also does very well in art, his favorite subject. Omar has made average progress in mathematical concepts. Improvements have been made with the use of manipulatives, which he was not exposed to in Kuwait. Omar has a positive attitude toward school. His curiosity and motivation to learn is evident in everything he does.

At home and when speaking to his sister at school, he continues to speak in Arabic. In addition, Omar's father has extended school activities to the home by going over his school papers with him and supplementing lessons with explanations in Arabic, to help Omar learn both languages.

In short, Omar has been able to adjust to the school experience with the help of very caring teachers and family. His age, personality and prior knowledge of English have also played an important role in his adjustment.

SECTION II
Let the Students Teach Us

The Value of Bilingualism

In this study we looked at the stories of 12 bilingual students, their triumphs and tribulations in American schools. Their stories show their reactions to the use of the native language in the school, their process of acquiring a second language, their efforts to succeed academically, make friends, and feel accepted in the new environment. These students come from very different cultural, linguistic, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. Despite these differences, all the students and their families value bilingualism. Although parents want their children to learn English, in all homes the native language is used. In the case of Miguel and Pedro, their mother is dominant in English, although of Puerto Rican ancestry, and English is therefore the language of the home. The mother's motivation to send her sons to a Two-Way Bilingual program was precisely to help them learn Spanish and become familiar with the culture of their grandparents.

The Motivation to Succeed

Regardless of the socio-economic background and education of the parents, most children exhibited strong motivation to succeed in school. This factor seemed to sustain them through the most trying times. In school, these students exhibited the need to interact with somebody who spoke their native language even after having left the bilingual program. They enjoyed the contact with adults and other children with whom they could use the native language. When they were not able to, it seemed to have negative effects, as in the case of Mai. When she moved to a system which offered only English as a Second Language, Mai started to reject herself, feeling that she was "ugly" and "stupid", and later she began to show signs of rejecting her own culture.

The children went to different kinds of programs. The difference in the programs was to a great extent ruled by what the districts could do with the number of children and languages. Some programs, such as Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), Integrated Bilingual Education, and Two-Way Bilingual Education, use the native language for content and literacy instruction. The other programs, TBE Support and ESL Only, do not use the native language at all or make limited use of the native language — mostly for second language acquisition and clarification of concepts. Although all districts seemed to be trying to do their best under the circumstances, they need to realize that the choice of program creates different conditions for bilingual students.

Native Language Use Eases Adjustment

For example, the use of the native language, especially initially, allows for an easier adjustment to school and a continuous smooth linguistic, academic and personal development. In contrast, the students in ESL Only and TBE Support pro-

grams unanimously expressed feeling scared of school and initially tended to be shy and withdrawn. It took these students an enormous amount of personal effort and time to progress academically in school and acquire the second language. Reading and writing in English were among their greatest sources of difficulty and anxiety.

A comparison of Carlos' and Shimpei's experiences is illustrative of this point. Both boys entered school in the United States in fifth grade. Carlos, who was in an Integrated Bilingual Education program, felt the excitement of learning new subject matter, associated comfortably with American students and teachers, and continued to be the good student he was in El Salvador — all within a year of his arrival. In contrast, for Shimpei, who was in a TBE support program, trying to learn content in a second language was an extraordinary struggle. It took him almost four years to master the language of instruction and to feel accepted by peers and staff.

Another benefit of programs which offered students native language opportunities along with English as a Second Language instruction emerged in several of the case studies. Those students receiving TBE support exhibited very different behaviors in the mainstream classroom and in the bilingual classroom. For example, Sergei did not participate in whole class discussions in the mainstream, while in the bilingual room he was the most vocal student, where the discussions were in Russian and sometimes also English. For some students, native language classrooms engaged them more fully, providing them with a chance to participate far more uninhibitedly than they were able to in an all-English environment.

Desire for American Friends

Many students in these case studies expressed a great desire to make American friends. The type of program, English language development and personality of the students were all factors that seemed to interact in determining the level of success with which the bilingual students worked with American teachers and students. Programs such as the Two-Way and Integrated Bilingual Education models have been structured so that the bilingual students and staff work together as "insiders" with the English-speaking students and staff. Both English-speaking and bilingual students see themselves as part of a bilingual, multicultural schooling experience. The students in these programs naturally interacted with English-speaking students and teachers. However, personality played a role in the case of Nilda, an extremely shy girl. It took her over eight months before she could relate freely with all her peers. Her difficulties seem to be more the exception than the rule for the Integrated Bilingual program.

Need for Careful Mainstreaming

In self-contained TBE programs, the process of mainstreaming should be carefully considered. If not done well, mainstreaming can be as painful an experience for bilingual students as is the initial year for students in programs mostly taught in English. Mario, who was partially mainstreamed in his third year in the bilingual program, did not exhibit any stress or change in personality. He continued to be sociable with Spanish as well as English-speaking students, and he remained a good student, except in writing, which had always given him trouble in both

languages. He had a very healthy attitude towards his bilingualism. Mai, on the other hand, who was suddenly mainstreamed because of a family move, had a stressful experience. It took her almost a year to begin to feel adjusted. Her second language skills, which progressed so quickly while she was in the TBE program, did not show as rapid progress once she was thrust into an all-English program after her move. In addition, towards the end of the first year in the mainstream program, she was showing some evidence of insecurity about her identity by refusing to talk about Vietnam and her culture.

In programs where bilingual students are mostly in mainstream classrooms, the process of making American friends can take a long time, as in the case of Shimpei. Personality, age, and classroom methodologies seemed to have helped students such as Sergei and Omar, who took much less time to fit in.

Second Language Literacy Takes a Long Time

One further important factor was evident throughout these cases: second language acquisition and development, especially reading and writing, are complex, difficult processes which take a long time to develop to a native-like level. Even when teachers felt their students' English was good enough for them to work side by side with native speakers, the students could not fairly compete. Programs such as the Two-Way and Integrated Bilingual Education, which allow students to function as bilingual individuals, help students feel that they are not always at a disadvantage.

The Price Paid for Lack of Native Language Instruction

The students in programs such as TBE Support and ESL Only, progressed through school but paid a price, due to the limited or lack of use of their native language. There were factors, however, that helped these students: instruction, even if limited, in the native and second language by a bilingual teacher; having teachers who could communicate with those families who spoke only some English; use of inclusive methodologies by mainstream teachers that made the students feel part of the class; allowing the use of the native language in mainstream classes; having parents who could help with homework; success in something, such as math, violin, or swimming; positive attitude of the school towards the students' language; and strong communication and coordination between the TBE and ESL programs and the mainstream class. Schools that are implementing these kinds of programs should consider the above factors in their implementation.

The one lesson we can learn from all these stories is the tenacity with which these children are facing this difficult experience. They deserve our admiration. Parents, teachers and administrators who have gone the extra mile to help them also should be commended.

Recommendations

✿✿✿ Value placed on bilingualism in the home should be reinforced in the schools. Students who feel good about their bilingualism have a better chance at overall success in school.

✿✿✿ There should be careful planning for the mainstreaming of students in self-contained TBE programs. It should be done gradually, so that the students continue to receive instruction in the native language for part of the time. The teachers should communicate and coordinate the process, and the mainstream teacher should get to know the students and their backgrounds.

✿✿✿ In spite of the extraordinary efforts of bilingual and ESL personnel and the students themselves, the acquisition of the second language takes a long time to develop to a point where it is comparable to that of native speakers. For this reason, when students are in mainstream classes, their progress should be recorded systematically, perhaps in the form of portfolios. Giving a C to a student because s/he does not know enough English seems unfair. Giving the student an A or B because of effort seems to be misleading.

✿✿✿ The mainstream teachers should get to know the parents and their students' background. When a student is working with both a bilingual and a mainstream teacher, they should arrange for conferences together rather than leave it up to the bilingual teacher to make the home contacts.

✿✿✿ Mainstream teachers should be given the chance to observe their bilingual students in the bilingual classroom so that they can witness how their academic performance is different and in most cases much richer when functioning in their native language. Thus, they can develop a broader view of their students and their capacity.

✿✿✿ Schools should develop mechanisms to help the bilingual students to associate more with and to make friends with American students, and to make them feel accepted from the very beginning. Working at computers in pairs, cooperative learning methods, special projects, field trips, interesting American-born students in the culture of their bilingual peers, are but a few of the activities that can help establish this early bond. Another vehicle could be classes taught bilingually by the bilingual teacher to a mixed group of students.

✿✿✿ Schools should seriously consider developing programs such as Two-Way and Integrated Bilingual Education, where a bilingual, multicultural experience *is* the school experience for all. These program models provide for a more well-rounded education for all children. If systems cannot develop a full program, they should consider mini-programs that allow all students and staff to experience bilingualism and multiculturalism.